1: Jenness--186-187 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776

"The supernatural agencies with which the Copper Eskimo has to reckon are not confined to the shades of men and animals, tarrait. Over and above these are the tornrait, spirits that never had a normal life like human beings, though they are semi-human in their form. They live in isolation, as a rule, though divided into male and female. Whether they intermarry or not, and have children, the native never thinks of enquiring, and opinions even differ as to whether they can die. The shamans often assert that they cause them bodily harm, and sometimes claim to have killed one, but certain spirits at least the natives maintain it is impossible to kill. At times some little peculiarity in their appearance distinguishes them from human beings, for example, extraordinarily long hair; but they can change their forms and appear or disappear at will. Some have definite homes in hillocks or in tide-cracks or in old stone houses, but they are not altogether confined to these places; on the contrary, they are as free as other spirits to roam wherever they will.

The natives say that the shades of the dead, inyuin tarrait, often become spirits, tornrait, and in fact malignant shades that work the Eskimos harm are often called by this name. (1) The machinations of evil shades or spirits, aggioktun, is the explanation

"1. This belief exists also at Barrow, in North Alaska."

of every untoward circumstance and of every inexplicable phenomenon, whether it be sickness or stormy weather, an unaccountable sound or the movement of the compass needle. Mannigyorina, for example, had difficulty in her delivery, and the people said, 'The shades of the dead are angry.' Kanneyuk again heard a strange noise one day when she was inside her hut, and she rushed out crying, 'Evil shades'; similarly, on another occasion, Higilak, who heard a sound as of something scratching on a skin while she was cooking outside her tent, whispered apprehensively, 'Surely aggioktun.' The men are as credulous as the women. Thus Avranna heard a whistle one day when he was leaving our station (2). He knew it could not have issued from either of the two men who were there at the time, but thought there might be some one in one of the tents. However, as no one had ever been seen living in the tents he concluded with the other natives that it must have been a spirit haunting the station. The Eskimos believed that there was a spirit, tornrak, in the electric battery, and another in the phonograph. I induced a man to sing into the phonograph one evening, then changed the needle and reproduced his song. He was greatly alarmed, and asked whether some spirit were not boxed up in the machine. We told him to look down the horn and see for himself.

"2. Copper Eskimos never whistle, except to signal when hunting."

Sure enough, he asserted he could see the spirit that had reproduced his song, a diminutive being like a man, but only about an inch and a half high. When a woman's voice was reproduced the spirit he saw resembled a woman, and when his little boy's song was played over for him he saw the figure of a little boy. Several other Eskimos could see the same spirits when they looked down the horn, but, curiously enough, the man's wife was the one sceptic in the party.

Spirits, tornrait, are liable to be encountered everywhere. They are especially dangerous in solitary places, and to natives wandering alone in the dark. A woman who had to take the usual portion of food one evening over to a house some thirty yards away ran the whole *distance for fear of spirits. It is partly* [187] for this reason that the natives prefer to go about in company. Higilak became quite alarmed one day because I was absent from camp for about twelve hours, hunting in the Colville hills; she was afraid lest a spirit that was known to live in the vicinity had carried me off, just as one had carried off her father many years before. The Eskimos declare that long ago the ice suddenly cracked off Cockburn point and caused the drowning of a number of people who were encamped there. Then a spirit, a tornrak named Kalyutaryun, appeared in the crack -- it was he who had caused the disaster. A man named Asiranna --the being to whom the Eskimos now ascribe the lightning --attacked the spirit with his harpoon, but Kalyutaryun disappeared beneath the ice again. In the winter of 1915-16 the

natives told my interpreter Patsy that there were spirits in the rough ice near their settlement; Patsy said he would like to see a tornrak, and suggested that they should all go over and look for them, but the natives were horrified at the mere thought of it. Not a month later one of them saw a spirit issuing from a hole in the wall of an abandoned dance-house; he rushed for his rifle and fired a shot into the house, while the children fled in terror to their huts."

1: Jenness--187-188 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 789

"I was told that in Bathurst inlet the opening of the sealing season is marked by a pitched battle between the shamans and the many little tornrait [AW: spirits] that live on the ice. The shamans, it was said, hold a séance in the dance-house and summon their familiars; then with their snow-dusters they pursue the spirits, fighting them like dogs, so that often both the mouths of the men and the ends of the snow-dusters are covered with blood. The spirits of course are always defeated; but unless they were got rid of in this manner they would drive away all the seals, and the Eskimos would starve during the winter.

From generation to generation, from inyuit sivulingni, 'Men of the first times,' as the natives say, various incantations, akeutit, have been handed down to appease or drive away the malignant spirits. The incantation is usually sung by all the people, with one of their shamans standing in the centre of the ring; and as they sing their bodies sway from side to side, though their feet remain stationary. At the conclusion of the refrain the shaman invokes his familiars, and with their aid produces the desired result. Children are generally excluded from these performances. Many of the incantations are very old and have lost whatever meaning they had originally; but this does not lessen their potency. I heard one sung during a snow-storm in the late summer of 1915. Tusayok and Kesullik had no tent, so they improvised a rude shelter by stretching some skins between two crags; but since in spite of this they were very cold and

uncomfortable, Tusayok chanted an incantation and repeated it over and over again for about an hour. There were only about half a dozen words in it, and each taken by itself was intelligible enough, but no one had any clear idea of what the whole song meant. Tusayok thought, however, that the mere singing of this incantation, even though he was not himself a shaman, might have the effect of driving away the evil shades or spirits who were causing the storm and produce fine weather again. Literally translated the song ran: ---

I come again, I, again.
I come again, I, again. Do you not know?
I come again, I, again. (1)

About an hour after this had happened Kesullik tied a cord round his face so that it wrinkled up his nose and distorted his features, giving him a most grotesque appearance. He then sallied forth with a knife in his hand and defied the weather. Almost the same thing had occurred a month or two earlier when Ikpakhuak and a hunting party were lost for three days in a fog. Higilak distorted her features with a cord and con-

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"1. A spirit is supposed to be speaking all through."

fronted the fog, brandishing a knife in one hand and a set fox-trap in the other; ilanak-hotin 'You are angry', she [188] shouted, and Haugak and I --one on either side of her pretending to hold her back -- echoed her cry. We all had to laugh immoderately, to mock, it would seem, the shades or spirits that were responsible for the fog. Finally, with the cry mammienaksilekpakpok 'Its a confounded nuisance', she flung her fox-trap down on the ground, making it spring off and thereby intimidate the hostile powers."

1: Jenness--188 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 789

"The greatest of all the spirits, tornrait, is Kannakapfaluk, who lives in a snow hut just like the Eskimos, with a lamp and sleeping-platform and all the usual household paraphernalia. But Kannakapfaluk's hut is at the bottom of the sea, and her dogs are two bears, one brown and one white. There is a dwarf who lives with her, a man about three feet high whom the Eskimos call Unga because of the cry he utters when the shamans drag him up to the surface. If the Eskimo women sew too much on the ice, or break any of the taboos in reference to either sewing or cooking, Unga gathers all the seals inside the hut, and the Eskimos in consequence have no success in their sealing. The shamans then hold a séance in the dance-house and lower a long rope through the floor with a noose at one end of it. All the people gather round the rope and sing this incantation, which is known from one end of the Copper Eskimo country to the other: --

The woman down there she wants to go away,
Some of the young sea-gulls I can't lay my hands on. (1)

"1. One native said that when Kannakapfaluk cannot shut up the seals she shuts up sea-gulls instead. More probably 'sea-gulls' in shamanistic utterances means 'seals.'"

That man (2) he can't right matters by himself.
That man he can't mend matters by himself.
Over there where no people dwell I go myself and right matters.
He can't right matters by himself.
Over there where no people dwell, thither I go and right matters myself. (3)

As soon as the song is ended the shamans are supposed to slip a noose over Kannakapfaluk's wrists and haul her up until her head is just below the level of the floor. They must not draw her any higher because she would be very angry if the people in the dance-house saw her. The shamans talk to her, telling her that the people are starving for want of seals and asking her to release them again; Unga in the meantime remains below guarding the seals. Kannakapfaluk is now lowered again, and at once orders Unga to release some of the seals. Then the Eskimo hunters are successful again and the community prospers.

Another method is said to be adopted occasionally by the shamans. One of them will dive down through the water and enter Kannakapfaluk's hut. Unga, the guardian

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"2. 'That man' refers to the shaman in the dance-house, but whether another shaman is supposed to be speaking or not is uncertain."

"3. The chant is then repeated from the third line."

of the seals, tries to escape, but the shaman tucks him under his coat and carries him up to the dance-house, holding him carefully concealed so that the people may not see him, though they hear his cries. Unga is then told to let out the seals and sent back to report to Kannakapfaluk."

1: Jenness--188-189 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 784

"Kannakapfaluk has other powers besides this one of hoarding the seals. She can send bad weather in winter, and so keep the Eskimos indoors till they starve; or she can break up the ice and drown them. Long ago she used to put people inside the breast of her coat and crush them to death. There were many taboos that the Eskimos of olden times had to observe, the natives say, but the majority of them have now been quietly dropped. Occasionally, however, in stormy weather the shamans will revive one or two for a short period. The two that should never be violated are the prohibitions against sewing new deerskin clothing on the ice during the weeks when the sun never rises, and cooking on the ice deer-meat that was obtained in the preceding summer and fall. [189] These taboos are rarely, if ever, violated by the natives of Dolphin and Union strait and of west Coronation gulf as long as they are actually living on the sea ice, although they may sometimes disregard them when their huts are built so near the shore that it is doubtful whether ice or gravel lies under the floor.

In Bathurst inlet the myth of Kannakapfaluk as told by the shaman Ilatsiak is slightly different. (1) There are two women living under the sea, one of whom, Arnakapfaluk,

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"Cf. Boas, Bulletin A.M.N.H., Vol. XV, p.492. For other versions of the Sedna myth see Miss Wardle in Am. Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. II, 1900, pp.568-580."

is very big, while the other woman, who may be her daughter -- Ilatsiak had forgotten her name --is much smaller. Two men live with them, Ikparyuak and Hitkoktak, and all the seals are gathered in their hut where the smaller of the two women keeps guard over them. The women would like to keep them away from the Eskimos altogether, and are therefore perpetually quarrelling with the men, who are friendly towards the Eskimos and would let them kill all the seals they need. Arnakapfaluk, whose hair streams above and behind her whenever a blizzard is raging, is especially wroth if the Eskimo women sew too much during the time that the sun is absent. When seals are scarce the shamans hold a séance in the dance-house, and after singing the incantation given above they haul Arnakapfaluk up to the surface, when the small woman down below immediately throws out some of the seals for the Eskimo hunters to kill later.

It is worth noting that among these Bathurst inlet natives there is no rigid prohibition against sewing new deerskin clothing during the dark days of winter; the women are allowed to sew provided they keep within reasonable limits. The reason given by the local natives was that the sea ice is much more solid in their region than it is farther west, where strong currents open up huge cracks even in mid-winter. It is possible that we have here an example of a taboo, based on or upheld by fear, dropping out as soon as that fear is removed."

"Sila, the being who lives in the sky and makes the sun go down when he walks along, also holds a high place in the Eskimo cosmology. Sila is often hostile to human beings and carries one off; but sometimes he is gracious and will cure a sick man by imparting to him some of his own vitality. More important because more dangerous, is Nigsillik, another spirit who lives in the sky; the Eskimos are very much afraid of him, for he carries a great hook, nigsik, which he stabs into his enemies. Like Kannakapfaluk, he too is wroth if the women sew new deerskin clothes during the dark days, and will break up the ice and drown the natives. On one occasion, they told me, he broke up the passage leading to a dance-house. The inmates said, 'There is someone outside;' but one of them was skeptical and said there was no one. Nigsillik immediately entered the hut and drove his long hook under their armpits, killing them all. Now and again the Eskimos hear him break up the passage of a hut; then they frighten him away by driving a knife through the snow wall at the edge of the window, or by pouring water through a hole in the wall or throwing it out into the passage. They must keep perfectly silent, otherwise Nigsillik will enter and kill them, as he did the people in the dance-house.

According to Ilatsiak there are two spirits living in the sky both of whom are called Nigsillik; one of them carries a great club, the other an immense antler. A shaman named Arluna, he said, was once holding a séance in a crowded dance-house when these two spirits came down and began to batter on the wall; but Arluna drove his knife through

it and frightened them away before they could reach the people within.

The Eskimos were terrified one night because my half-breed interpreter Patsy scratched on the ice window of one of the huts. They earnestly entreated him to stop, lest a spirit called Poalleritillik, 'The one with the snow shovel,' [190] should come down from the sky and kill them all. Higilak then told us that a man was once talking to her uncle in a hut, and declaring that no such spirit as Poalleritillik existed, when suddenly they heard the scraping of his shovel on the window as though he were trying to make his way into the hut. Higilak's uncle, however, was a shaman, and through the power of his magic he was able to drive the spirit away."

3: Rasmussen--24-25 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 776, 784

"Arnakăp°ha'luk: the big, bad woman, is the origin of all taboo. Of all the spirits, people are most afraid of her. She lives on a rock at the bottom of the sea in a little bubble. There she lives with her husband and a small child. She is sovereign over all the sea beasts and therefore is particularly feared in winter, when the ice comes and sealing begins.

Should it happen that people break their taboo -- she is especially touchy about unclean women -- she gathers up all the women's sewing things and the men's work and covers the seals over with them so that they cannot get out. All the sea beasts can be hidden under her side-platform, and they are shut up there when a taboo has been broken, the space under the side-platform then being blocked up with the work that was done under the taboo. This does not mean literally the sewing materials or the implements or tools that the men have worked with, but simply the souls of these things. The materials remain with the people and they do not notice that their souls are being piled up in the house of the Sea Woman. But suddenly hunting fails, and then the people can only be saved if a shaman forces [MPK: Sea Woman] up to the top of the sea.

It is said that whenever people are in need and sit in darkness because they have no blubber for their lamps, the lamp in the house of the Sea Woman goes out too. This means that she herself will feel it when people begin to suffer. It is believed that, in her passion, she desires the same troubles as those the people have brought upon themselves on account of their disobedience. This belief is peculiar to the Umingmaktôrmiut.

The manner of invoking her is this: all the people of the village gather in a qagᵉje out on the ice. When all are there, the shaman comes in and makes a hole inside the hut with a snow-beater. This hole must be to the right of the entrance opening. Over this small [25]hole is laid a caribou-skin jacket belonging to a man who is closely associated with the shaman and a good friend of his. The shaman then gets on his knees under the jacket, his elbows resting on the floor, and gazes fixedly into the hole made by the snow-beater. This hole is just like a seal's breathing hole, and the idea is that [MPK: Sea Woman] should come up through it. As soon as the shaman's preparations get to this stage, all those in the qagᵉje join in the famous hymn that is to rise with irresistible power from inside the people like a nivjalu't: a religious song of the same kind as a magic song. It is sung in a monotonous, slow and very solemn melody with the following words:

Hymn for summoning up from the deep. [MPK: The interlinear Eskimo text has been omitted.]

Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?

Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Come out, you, down there,
Come out, you, down there!
Those who live above you, it is said,
Call you
To see you, savage and snappish,
Come out, you down there "

3: Rasmussen--25-27 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-3
116, 776, 787

"The following is a description of what happened at such a [MPK: shamanistic] seance: They continued to repeat these words [MPK: of the summoning hymn] until at last the shaman announced that Arnakăp^{s}ha'luk [MPK: Sea Woman] was approaching, and that all the men in the qag^{s}je should hold on to him. They immediately threw themselves upon him, for now the Sea Woman had beset him, that is to say her soul had taken up its residence in his body, and she now [26] spoke in a deep voice through the shaman. As a rule she would tell them that the bad hunting was the result of some taboo having been broken, and that the constantly bad weather was due to people's indifference to the traditions of their ancestors. Scarcely had she launched these accusations when the women in their fear began to confess the breaches of taboo they had committed, the men meanwhile fighting desparately [sic] with [MPK: Sea Woman] who had quite taken possession of the shaman's body. He writhed in pain, struck out with his fists and moaned incessantly. They kept a firm hold on him and took care especially that he did not lift his head, as the spirit of the air is capricious and the houses of men only frail. They were afraid that the Sea Woman would level the qag^{s}je with the ice and let loose fierce storms, and this was certain to happen if the shaman merely raised his head a little. Then, as soon as women and men had confessed all, the shaman cried in a loud voice that [MPK: Sea Woman] lamp was once more turned the right way up -- indicating that as long as bad hunting lasted the lamp always stood bottom upwards, extinguished and dark. Shortly afterwards the shaman, who was still fighting with the Sea Woman, shouted that now her hair was

smooth and clean again; for as long as all sins are not confessed her hair is usually in the wildest disorder. Only when everything has been put in order again does [MPK: Sea Woman] return to her house by the same route as she has come. A little later the crying of a child was heard, and up through the same hole in the floor of the hut came the child from the bottom of the sea, entered the body of the shaman and spoke through his mouth. It cried, and said that [MPK: Sea Woman] had struck it on the head with a caribou antler because it had let the beasts get out to the people. The child spoke through the shaman with the same deep voice as its mother, for all those from the bottom of the sea speak with a deep voice. Then the child disappeared, and it was now igpiArjuk's turn to appear in the same manner as the others had done. He, too, complained that he had been misused because he had helped to release the seals. Then he disappeared into the depths and the seance was over. The beasts had come back to be hunted by the people of the village.

It is said that [MPK: Sea Woman] comes riding up to the qag^{c}je on a seal; this opens a way up to the surface of the sea, and it remains open just like a tube, so that both her child and her husband can easily make the journey up to the surface alone.

For four days after [MPK: Sea Woman] has been called up to the qag^{c}je no woman must sew and no man must do any work whatever; no block of snow must be cut and no one must drive a sledge. If the men go out to the breathing holes they must walk, and, if [27] they catch a seal, there must be no eating of its liver out on the ice as is the usual custom.

In answer to a question it is expressly averred that it has been forgotten how [MPK: Sea Woman] originally got to the bottom of the sea. All that is known is that she has always been there.

[MPK: Sea Woman] is also called a giver of strength, because she gives people sea beasts if only they do not break their taboo."

"As has already been said, the shamans get their helping spirits almost exclusively from among the hilap inue, who are the spirits of the air. What sort of beings these really are is difficult to explain. They only know that there are many, and many different kinds of spirits. The famous old shaman Ilatsiaq had helping spirits that were from the aurora borealis. hilap inue need not necessarily live out in space always; they have merely to live out in the open, and not in houses like ordinary people. As examples of spirits of this kind there is the Claw Troll, who is as big as a human being but furnished with long and sharp claws, very much like the claws of a seal. And finally, hilap inue need not always be dangerous monsters such as giants and trolls; they may look just like ordinary people and yet be spirits. For instance, once when old Hêq was fishing for trout in a river he quite unexpectedly saw some hilap inue who resembled just everyday people; there were a man and his wife and their little child. All three were clad in salmon skin, but otherwise [32] there was nothing unusual about them. They drew Hêq's attention to their clothing themselves, and said that they used the skins of salt-water trout because they had nothing else. They lived underground in holes, just as lemmings and marmots do; their language and their speech were just like a human being's. The man's name was Kivfarina and the woman's Unermiana, while the son's name was Tagsjuana. In ordinary people's language these names might be translated 'the serving one', 'the one who can be carried on the shoulders', and 'the

one who must be guided'. All three words are very ancient forms of the language used today. They caught salmon with the hook-spear, which otherwise is not the custom among the Umingmaktôrmiut. When Hêq, who of course was a shaman, was out on the ice alone, they brought him trout out of their catch and thus became his helping spirits. Quite apart from the fact that they were not real people, their lives, their pleasures and their sorrows seemed to be quite the same as ordinary people's, but in some strange manner they seemed to be closely associated with hila, the weather."

"inuAruvligkät are the commonest spirits and helping spirits. They are considered to be good hunters, having bows that are larger than they are themselves. The traditions very closely resemble those of the Netsilingmiut. Nevertheless, they know nothing of their having a stick with which they can kill every living thing, or that they curl the earth up when going on a long journey. It is commonly believed that the inuAruvligkit have the special property of letting things that are small grow and become large to suit their own requirements. In a mountain lake on the island of Ikijugtivilik there is a house, a tiny one, that is attributed to these mountain spirits. The house is said to stand up on a cliff inside a crevice. The entrance is so small that a man cannot put his head inside. And yet from the outside one can see that the house widens out inside the grotto. A man named Alik once tried to put his head in through the opening to have a look at this dwarf's house, but the inhabitants made the opening close up by magic, and Alik could not get his head out again. His life was only saved by his companions' breaking a large piece out of the cliff to release him. Nevertheless, Alik had had time to see the entire arrangement of the house, with its platform and everything. But since then no one had dared to peep into the mountain.

Strangely enough, my informants Hêq and Netsit declared that they knew nothing of ijErqät. All the same, I am inclined to think that they misunderstood my question, and

that they meant they had nothing particular to tell about these spirits; for they are so generally known among all other Eskimo groups that they cannot have sunk entirely into oblivion among the Umingmaktôrmiut.

ignErjuAq is only known as the name of a certain spirit that once used to help a shaman. They seem to have been quite forgotten in the usual sense of 'fire spirits' or 'beach spirits'.

One-eyed giants are known by hearsay and are looked upon as dangerous and frightful; the eye is said to be in the side of the head. They also know a kind of spirit with no eye at all."

3: Rasmussen--35-36 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 776

"There are spirits of a remarkable kind: the chinless ones. They are dangerous, and sometimes kill people; on the other hand they are in great demand as helping spirits, when they are very useful.

'The one with the hook' is one of the hilap inue that are feared. Sometimes it attacks snow huts without letting itself be seen; it never speaks, and one can only hear its creaking in the snow out in the entrance passage. At times it causes the whole passage wall to collapse. When this happens, everybody in the snow hut has to howl as loud as he can, one against the other, to drive it away. When a nighilik has been driven away in this manner the women must not sew, nor the men do any work, for one or two days.

hilA'q is a supernatural monster, a spirit in the form of a black bear, enormous and powerful. It can only seen [sic] by shamans, who have it as a helping spirit, and when it appears its big teeth can be seen [36] in a big grin. This should be compared with the Iglulingmiut's sila't, who are said to come from large white eggs in the ground; they were made like caribou, but with large snouts, hair like lemmings, and as big as umiaks, with legs like tent poles.

If a house is visited by evil spirits and the dogs start to bark, which is always a sure sign of the presence of spirits, they put two pieces of wick-moss up against the window, and all the people gather in the threatened house to exorcise the spirits. For evil spirits they use small miniature knives of wood, with which they make passes in the air."

11: Stefansson--295-296 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 782

"At the first Nagyuktogmiut village in April some noise was heard outside our snow-house. Our visitors of the time decided it was our [296] (or my) turnnrak [familiar spirit] and forthwith started a chorus of requests and prayers to me (not to the turnnrak) to have the turnnrak provide plenty seals, good weather, good health, the safe birth of expected children, etc. As we were leaving there was a concerted request by all present that we intercede with the turnnrak for two women, Arnauyak and Anaktok (both young, though only Anaktok recently married--other two or three years) that they might have children born to them."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

Our party split up each morning and drifted in different directions, each person carrying a fishing outfit, and the men their hunting weapons. Nine or ten hours later the women straggled back with their fish, bearing also, in fine weather, loads of dryads to cook the evening meal. They cut off the heads of the fish for the cooking-pots, threw the backbones and fins to the dogs, and spread the bodies on boulders, or across horizontal poles to dry in the sun. The whole party then reassembled an hour or two before midnight, and, squatting outside the tents, gnawed the fish-heads, bone by bone, and discussed the day's adventures. The hungry dogs looked on with mournful eyes; tied to stones, they dined miserably on bones and broth.

I hunted, most of this period, to obtain caribou meat for my starving dog-team, but during a fortnight's steady tramping saw but two young bulls, which we consumed entirely in three days. The stony ridges cut to pieces my light sealskin boots, intended only for soft snow, and Icehouse, who had tried to patch them each evening, finally rebelled. "Stop hunting for a time," she said. "Your boots are wrecked beyond repair, and caribou will be scarce until the warmer weather comes and the mosquitoes drive them near our camps. Stop hunting, and I will make you new boots with stouter soles for the summer months."

It was not only my boots that troubled her. She believed that an evil demon, haunting the hills to the

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

westward where I generally made my excursions, trapped and destroyed the solitary hunter. In this very district, many years before, it had spirited away her first husband, who had vanished without leaving a trace. So when I, too, vanished for sixteen hours one day she became greatly alarmed, and entreated Ikpuck to lead a searching party. Willy-nilly, I had to join the fishermen and let my dogs go hungry.

The fish soon commenced to bite less freely in the surrounding lakes, and some of the men wandered farther afield. Ikpuck then shot a caribou eight miles away near the shore of Lake Ever-Frozen. Instead of packing it home, he buried it in the snow and advised moving our camp to its vicinity. Every one welcomed his suggestion and prepared back-packs for the dogs, since the melting of the snow on the ridges rendered our sleds useless until autumn came round again. We concealed in stone cairns the dried fish we had accumulated, raised the empty sleds on stone pillars, and piled on top of them all the stone lamps and other articles too heavy or too bulky to carry around with us during the summer; then, packing on our backs the remainder of the equipment, we abandoned the Lake of Dancing and marched away to our new home.

It was a picturesque sight, this train of people and dogs staggering over hill and lake under burdens almost equal in size and weight to themselves. The men carried the tents and weapons, the women the